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UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

December 1, 1960

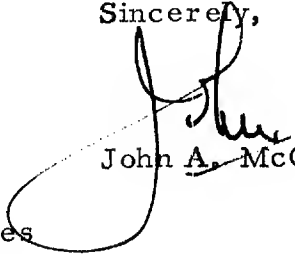
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Dear Allen:

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum of my conversation with Professor Emelyanov, Chairman, USSR Nuclear Energy Committee, in New York on November 19. Although there will be copies provided to your staff, and I have reviewed it at OCB, I thought you might be interested in personally seeing a full account of the discussion.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,


John A. McCone

Honorable Allen W. Dulles
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Encl.

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State Dept. review completed

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Time: Saturday, November 19, 1960, 1:00 p.m.

Place: Waldorf Astoria Towers, Suite 40-C, New York, New York

Participants: Mr. John A. McCone, Chairman, AEC
Professor V.S. Emelyanov, Chairman, USSR Nuclear Energy
Committee
Mr. John A. Hall, Assistant General Manager for International
Activities, AEC

Geneva Test Cessation Conference

Professor Emelyanov said that he had met Professor Jerome Wiesner who was planning to attend the "Pugwash" Conference in Moscow, November 27 - December 5, 1960. Mr. McCone asked about the purpose of the conference and Professor Emelyanov said it was "opposed" to Mr. McCone. Mr. McCone expressed surprise and asked the Professor to explain himself. Professor Emelyanov said that a purpose of the conference was to discuss the necessity to have complete cessation of nuclear tests and Mr. McCone's position was well known.

Mr. McCone stated that it was necessary to have a clear understanding as to his position. He had read the Pravda article written by Professor Emelyanov, and he had heard other comments concerning his position which simply were not correct. Chairman McCone stated that he was for complete cessation of nuclear tests under effective controls. He recalled his statements of over a year ago at his home in Washington when he advised Professor Emelyanov that he was prepared to support cessation with reasonable controls. However, the Soviets were obviously not interested in establishing reasonable controls and the performance of Mr. Tsarapkin bore out this statement. Mr. McCone also reminded Professor Emelyanov that he had taken the same position when he discussed this subject in the Soviet Union over a year ago. He told Professor Emelyanov that there was a current of opinion in the United States which considered the possibility that the Soviets were presently conducting underground tests. The negotiators in Geneva have now been at work for over two years and little progress had been made in the last year.

Returning to Tsarapkin's obstinancy in Geneva, Mr. McCone further recalled Professor Emelyanov's characterization of Tsarapkin as a Stalinist and recalled Khrushchev had characterized him as a person "who clawed" his way upward. Zorin had demonstrated he was just as inflexible as Tsarapkin.

Professor Emelyanov asked why should the Soviets test. He stated that the Soviets no longer needed to test. He admitted that the scientists were constantly asking that there be tests for the same reasons undoubtedly that the Americans wanted tests. Professor Emelyanov said underground tests would be expensive and would be difficult to hold, and he stated the Soviets were not testing. Mr. McCone stated that underground tests were not costly, could not be detected and would produce valuable weapons information for the Soviets.

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Mr. McCone ventured and Professor Emelyanov agreed that undoubtedly they personally could find solutions to the problem of the impasse in Geneva, because they understood one another but Mr. McCone expressed concern over a solution being developed by Tsarapkin. Mr. McCone then urged that the Soviet team be replaced by men who would approach the problems with an open mind.

Disarmament

Mr. McCone stated that it was useless to talk about disarmament when Zorin kept repeating the necessity of disarmament before any controls. Mr. McCone asked Professor Emelyanov if the Soviet Union would seriously accept a plan to be applied to its own system which provided for complete disarmament before there was any international inspection and control. Professor Emelyanov stated that that was not their position. The Soviet position was that there should be stages of disarmament with concurrent controls which would go into effect after there had been agreement on the general disarmament. Mr. McCone pointed out that this was not what Zorin was stating and Professor Emelyanov insisted that that was the Soviet position.

Soviet Secrecy

Professor Emelyanov said that the present situation was very serious and something had to be done. The U-2 incident provided strength to those who said it was impossible to deal with the United States. Professor Emelyanov stated he had been asked many questions about United States friendship as a result of the U-2 and had been personally criticized for his policy of cooperation with the United States in view of recent events. Mr. McCone insisted the Soviets were at fault because of their policy of secrecy and that the fundamental problem was to open Soviet society. The question of Soviet secrecy would always hinder the solution of the problems that came between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States was an open system. The Soviets knew at all times what was happening in the United States. The United States, on the other hand, did not know what was happening in the Soviet Union. Professor Emelyanov stated that secrecy was a necessary part of their system. He recalled that after the first World War, German technicians came to the Soviet Union and reported on the status of the Soviet industrial activity to the German general staff. Soviet survival depended upon making sure that certain things were kept secret.

Mr. McCone reminded Professor Emelyanov that the United States had spent over \$12,000,000,000 to help the Soviet Union during the War. We had been Allies in a common cause. We had no ambitions but to seek peace. Professor Emelyanov quoted an article that he had read in an American publication concerning the organization of the Strategic Air Command near Omaha, Nebraska. This article had wide publicity in the Soviet Union as an example of the United States alerting itself for atomic war against the Soviet Union.

Professor Emelyanov stated it was necessary to find ways and means to start trusting each other and Mr. McCone agreed but again stated that this would be difficult unless existing Soviet "secrecy" policies were sharply altered.

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Communist China

Mr. McCone cited Professor Emelyanov's article in the Pravda as an example of journalism which was not correct and did not create trust. Professor Emelyanov said that his article actually had been cut at the end wherein he had cited a portion of the poem by Alexander Bloch, a German who had spent many years in the Soviet Union and wrote his poetry in the early 20's. He stated that the poetic reference by Bloch referred to the triumph of China over the West. Mr. McCone stated that this certainly should be of grave concern to the Soviet Union, and Professor Emelyanov stated it was and it should be of concern to the United States also. Aside from politics, the Chinese population growth itself would overwhelm the population of the Soviet Union and the United States in the next thirty or forty years. There are basic problems between the Soviets and China. Professor Emelyanov expressed great concern and evidenced real worry over the Chinese question but offered no solution.

India

Professor Emelyanov volunteered that Dr. Bhabha had been pressing him for an arrangement to supply a power plant to India. He stated that so far they had three separate discussions, one in India, the second in Moscow and the third in New York, on the initiative of Dr. Bhabha. Dr. Bhabha was interested in a natural uranium heavy water power plant of a large size, 200 to 300 megawatts. Professor Emelyanov had taken the position with Dr. Bhabha that it was premature for such type of plant, that the plant should be deferred several years, and that he should await the outcome of breeder power plants; but Dr. Bhabha was still pressing for help. He stated he probably would help Dr. Bhabha with equipment but presently they were too committed in the Soviet Union to go further than furnishing some equipment. Professor Emelyanov stated, when asked concerning Dr. Bhabha's interest in weapons, that India might be interested in atomic weapons in the future. India could make weapons from the plutonium that would be produced in the natural uranium reactors Dr. Bhabha wished.

The Soviet Power Reactor Planning

Professor Emelyanov said that he had been asked to develop a 20-year power reactor program. However, at the present time he did not know what new type of reactor to include in the program. The large 400 megawatt reactor at Leningrad has been postponed indefinitely. The 50 megawatt fast reactor originally planned to be in operation soon was unnecessary to construct. The reason being is that the PRDC reactor will provide the necessary information. In a sense, the 50 megawatt reactor would be a political liability because his bosses could say that the United States had a bigger one. Therefore, they will wait. Also, the atomic power plants at Byeloyorsk and Voronezh have been cut back to 100 megawatts and 200 megawatts respectively. The Ice-Breaker, Lenin, had been a great success. There had been no difficulty up to the present moment, and there had been no leaks in the system.

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Soviet Nuclear Submarines

Mr. McCone asked Professor Emelyanov how the nuclear submarine program was progressing. Professor Emelyanov, at first, stated that this was a difficult question to answer and then added that he had not been advised that there had been any problems on the nuclear submarines, and he, accordingly, assumed that everything was progressing satisfactorily.

Soviet International Agreements with Other Countries

Professor Emelyanov volunteered that the Soviet Union was negotiating the following agreements:

1. An agreement with India providing for cooperation in the field of power reactors and the furnishing of equipment.
2. An agreement with Afghanistan to furnish a radioisotope laboratory.
3. An agreement with Sir Roger Makins of the United Kingdom along the same lines of the McCone-Emelyanov arrangement.

Khrushchev's Statements and World Peace

Mr. McCone reminded Professor Emelyanov that it was difficult to see peaceful objectives in the Soviet Union when Khrushchev made such statements as "The Soviet Union was grinding out missiles like sausages." These were militant aggressive statements, and these statements did not sound as if they were coming from a man who wanted peace. Professor Emelyanov asked whether the United States was really frightened at these statements. (He seemed surprised that we would be concerned about them.) Professor Emelyanov continued that many troops of different countries had been on Soviet soil but no Soviet troops had ever been on American soil and none ever would. The forty years of defending the Soviet Union had cost a great deal in the development of the country. Professor Emelyanov said that he had been a partisan in the Revolution in 1917 and had lost his brother. He had lost only one relative during the second World War but millions of Russians had not been as fortunate. Professor Emelyanov continued by saying there was a fear of war in the Soviet Union and a shortage of basic things, including housing. He described his small apartment in Moscow and his eight-room dacha in the country near Moscow. He said he had a great deal of money but even that would not allow better accommodations in Moscow, and he had never invited a foreign visitor to his Moscow apartment because it was so small and simple. The great losses suffered by the Soviet Union plus the enormous necessities required by the people made war impossible. On the other hand, it was very necessary at this moment to realize a very serious situation existed between the United States and the Soviet Union and some method must be found to re-create the conditions of mutual confidence.

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The McCone-Emelyanov Understanding

Both Mr. McCone and Professor Emelyanov agreed that the exchange of scientific personnel and various other items under the agreement should continue. Mr. McCone stated he did not know who would be the Chairman of the Commission under the new Administration. Whether he would continue or not was still uncertain. However, he was sure that the new Administration would support the progress made under the arrangement.

Professor Emelyanov volunteered that before he had left, arrangements had been made to send over 250 documents to Washington as part of the Memorandum of Understanding.

Hall-Emelyanov Discussions

After the meeting with Mr. McCone was adjourned, Mr. Hall, at the suggestion of Mr. McCone, raised several additional points with Professor Emelyanov on his return to the Westbury Hotel. The following points are related below:

1. The Director General of the IAEA - Mr. Hall asked Professor Emelyanov what position the Soviets intended to take on the next Director General of the Agency. Professor Emelyanov said that four years ago the Soviet Union wished to support a neutral as Director General and had mentioned Brynielsson of Sweden as a possible candidate. Mr. Hall stated that the United States position necessarily would have to wait until the new Administration had an opportunity to discuss this point but it would be helpful if the Soviets' views could be obtained in the near future. Professor Emelyanov said that he would raise this question and would be prepared to discuss it in Bombay in January.

2. The Joint Discussion on a High Energy Physics Project - Mr. Hall recalled that scientists of the Soviet Union and the United States had met at Brookhaven in September to discuss the feasibility and desirability of a larger accelerator. One of the conclusions of the group was to the effect that there should be a further discussion of this matter in approximately a year after both sides have had an opportunity to advise their agencies of the outcome of the discussions. It was a separate United States conclusion that other interested countries and CERN representatives should be invited to participate. Mr. Hall stated that the United States favored another meeting. Professor Emelyanov agreed that there should be another meeting in approximately a year. Professor Emelyanov suggested Vienna. Mr. Hall stated there would be a letter forthcoming on this subject proposing such a meeting.

3. Waste Disposal - Mr. Hall recalled the letter from Professor Emelyanov dealing with proposed visits on waste disposal sometime between January and March. Professor Emelyanov repeated that that was the most convenient time for his people and added at that time a new plant would be

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completed and in operation which could be examined by the United States waste disposal authorities. Mr. Hall asked what the plant did and Professor Emelyanov stated that it was a plant to distill and solidify waste so it could be packaged in smaller containers.

4. The Board of Governors' Meeting in January 1961 - Mr. Hall asked Professor Emelyanov whether he would be attending the meeting of the Board in January. Professor Emelyanov said he probably would not be able to attend and would probably either send one of his deputies or ask Mr. Molotov to be in the Chair.

5. Professor Emelyanov's Three Deputies - Professor Emelyanov stated that before he left Moscow, he recommended to his government the assignment of three deputies. One deputy would be the present manager of the 5 megawatt power plant, Andrey K. Krasin. The second deputy and the third deputy were unnamed but characterized as young engineers, one from the Urals.

6. Accusation of United States Spying - Professor Emelyanov stated one of the problems with U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations dealt with the creation of suspicion by apparent spying on Soviet activities. He stated that during the McCone delegation visit to the Soviet Union in 1959, an American attache attached to the delegation took pictures at Talinin of a destroyer flotilla. Professor Emelyanov said that they were old destroyers and not very important, but it was clear to the Soviets present that the American was taking pictures for intelligence purposes.

7. Reactor Dedication and Scientific Advisory Committee Meeting in Bombay, January 1961 - Professor Emelyanov said that Dr. Bhabha had invited him to Bombay for the reactor dedication ceremony on January 16, 1961, and he had accepted. He also stated that Mr. Hammarskjold hoped to attend a special meeting of the Scientific Advisory Committee which had been invited by Dr. Bhabha to meet in Bombay. Professor Emelyanov said he would be giving a short speech on the status of the Soviet power reactor program.

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